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SOME THOUGHTS ON CANADA.

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CANADA and the States are united, not only by railroad systems, but by the generous feelings which ever reside in the breasts of manly neighbors. Canada is too peaceful and too quietly advancing on her own path of happy progress not to sympathize to the full with the quicker moving populations across the fresh water seas. In the troubles of the United States, a generation ago, many thousands of Canadian citizens fought for the North. In the homes of Canada, as in Illinois, many a hearth was desolated by the loss of a beloved member of the family through the Confederate bullets. Canadians share in the United States' prosperity, nourish no envy, and are content with the great territories which have been assigned to them by Providence to develop. They have enough to do at home, and have perfect confidence that they will be able to do that which destiny apportions to them. Their own progress has been very quiet. Some persons say that it has been so quiet that there has been no life in it. But they are mistaken. The settlers who have gone to that northern land have gone there to stay. They have gone there because they prefer its freer institutions, and like the certainty of its climate, its health-giving air, and freedom from political trouble, whether it be of race, of labor, of over-production, or of great contrast between rich and poor. They like it because it happens to be a land whose wealth is perhaps more evenly distributed than that of any great free community elsewhere. They prefer it because it has a glorious history connecting it with events which have given a dignity to the past. They see that the popular will finds immediate expression and effect through its constitution. They find that, although there are great autonomous provinces,

where local ambition and desires find full scope, the authority of the Federal and National Government is obeyed. They see that the central authority keeps in its own hand all military power, and that no local ambition has control of the militia. They have behind their national power the naval might of Britain, with her prestige and force to add to their own in case of danger, and her example and her friendly counsel to guide and assist them.

They are in alliance with, not in dependence on, the old country. They have themselves proved their own patriotism, and they have gained a place among the nations of the world. They make their own commercial arrangements in concert with the Imperial power. They have a position unique as it is enviable. In art, in industry, in literature, and in national life, whether shown by their success in great public works or by the ordered advance of their town and country populations, they have made immense progress since they united in the Dominion. They have triple signs of success in the variety of their territories. There are the eastern forests and farms, the central prairies, rich, and healthy, and full of coal; the western "slope," with its alps and woods, minerals, and the wondrously beautiful seaboard. What wonder if they see with equanimity that others do not grasp as yet the ideas they have realized in their possession of so much good? They can afford to labor and to wait, for each decade makes hope grow into assurance, and disperses doubt among themselves. In London there is now instituted an annual festival on the 1st of July, to commemorate the federation of the northern colonies, now the provinces of the Dominion. It was only two years ago that the first of these celebrations in the Imperial capital was held. Twenty-five years only had elapsed since that great instrument of union had been passed. At the last of these commemorations the present able High Commissioners of Canada to Great Britain were present, and among the guests was Lord Norton, now a man past eighty years of age, who had been in office in London when the first steps were taken to pass through the Imperial Parliament the Act of 1867, which formulated the constitution of the young Dominion. As Sir Charles Adderly, he had done all he could do in former days to assist the project. And now, looking back at that time, after an interval of twenty-seven years, he, a staunch Tory, was able to say how much he rejoiced in the new departure,

and how all that had been done in the making of an infant nation had been done at that nation's own wish, and by that nation's own representatives. By Canadians was Canada's constitution arranged, and by Canadians has it been perfected, and made to work with a smoothness and success unprecedented, where so many strange conditions had to be met, and so much that required self-restraint and power of self-government to be carried out.

Neighbors are sometimes supposed to be the last to see that which is being done near them, and, indeed, under their eyes; but we are sure that the good wishes of our American cousins are with us, for our task is similar to theirs, and the difference of the method is a difference that can lead to no estrangement, but, on the contrary, tend to the friendship between the two constitutional governments, which it is the desire and object of every Canadian to cherish and reinforce.

The Germans have a habit of averting misfortune by pronouncing the word "*unberufen*," or "let it not be called down on me," when they have been able to boast of good luck, and do not wish to share the bad. Let us also say "*unberufen*" and tap the table three times, as is the peculiar German method of making friends with good fortune, when we record that, as yet, Canada has had no marked experience of troubles between labor and capital. When, as at Montreal and Quebec, there has been some slight tendency in past days in that direction, the tendency has been rather imported by strangers from the south than by the action of her own sons. Undoubtedly the influence of the Roman Church in the Eastern Provinces, and notably in Quebec Province, has been to prevent such outbreaks. Nowhere does the Catholic priesthood exhibit a greater power, or use it better to further the ends of law and order, peace and religion. Yes, as yet there has been very little of the fierce feeling which in other lands has grown up between the man who works with his hands and the men who work with their brains. All will undoubtedly, in the "long run," come right where these contests occur, but how long will the "long run" be, and what mischief and misery may be done until the light of reason and reasonableness subdues the darkness of hate and envy? Alas, we cannot tell. The position of Canada has, in one respect, been very fortunate. She is more a rural than an urban nation. Her towns, in proportion to the landed population, are small, and

farmers do not "make hay" of capital, but are only too glad if capital comes to them to buy the hay after it is made, or will even give a promise to buy it while the crop is still on the ground. The Northern Provinces are communities of "Grangers," and Grangers must have railroads in good working order to transport their produce, or else they can't "get along" at all.

Yet a little movement against one curious form of "capital" has been participated in by workers of both Canada and the United States of late. Luckily, the central authorities on both sides of the line can in this case easily hold their own. I allude to the movement against the fur seals. These capitalists can hide away their treasure altogether if too roughly handled, and labor has determined to handle them so roughly that, like capitalists elsewhere, these marine wealth-bearers threatened to remove from their former haunts, if not from public life itself. The question put by the workers as to whether the problem of a fur seal's possessing its own skin was one that required the blunderbuss of the armed cruisers of three Powers and an international civil trial at Paris to settle, was, needless to say, mainly settled by the eloquence of an Irishman. Most of the sealers were Americans. Most of those who defended the seals were lawyers, and as no general railway strike could be brought to bear in favor of the enemies of the wealthy seals, they will still be allowed to propagate their species, although the word species has a suspicious likeness to "specie," which everyone knows means capital. The Americans contended that seals should be free in the open sea. But then they denied that the open sea was open sea, a contention so Hibernian that the Irishman had no difficulty in confuting it.

He was made Chief Justice of England, and the seals got a time in the year when they, like Irish landlords, should not be shot or killed at all, at all. This all reads like a fairy story, but it is an impartially told bit of history, and only noticed here because some people sought to make the affair a cause of quarrel between friends, that is, between Canadians, Americans, and British. There is plenty of room for all three on the sea, as on the land, and even on the great lakes. In those inland seas it is for the interest of both to have good salvage arrangements in case of wreck. Wherever there is chance of any disaster causing loss of life, the Canadian Government has issued orders which have for many

years prevented misunderstandings. These formerly arose more from the idea that on the northern side the arrangements for assisting vessels in distress were not efficient, than from any fact which could nourish apprehension.

Conciliation and arbitrament is practically always at hand, so long as the present intimate connection between Britain and her colonies exists. The authorities in "Downing Street" are sufficiently removed from the scene of local disagreement to be able to keep themselves unentangled by any mere accidental bitterness imparted into a dispute. Reference to them means the lapse of a little time to let the disputants sleep and think over the matter in quiet, and the friendly advice given "from home" is well received in the main, and if not always quite satisfactory to the colonists, is recognized as an honest attempt to adjust disputes, and to act as *amicus curiæ* in a manner likely to lead to friendly settlement. Would that trade disputes could find as efficient an intermediary—as respected a tribunal—as conciliatory a court of arbitration! The mere gain of time is much, when passion is excited; and, if the interval gained can be spent in reflection instead of inaction, the disputants would have little chance of coming to blows.

To any person who has followed the course of events, it must have been a matter of some surprise to see a great conference called together at Ottawa, and representatives from many colonies there assembled, the mother country being herself represented by special envoy. The Governor-General, who permanently during his five or six years' term of office, is the delegate of the old country, was not considered sufficient, and the Earl of Jersey, a former Governor of one of the Australian colonies, was sent to Ottawa as the British envoy. These facts of themselves show a marked change from the days when it was held in London that Westminster could legislate for Upper and Lower Canada. A still wider divergence from the ancient ideas of the rights of the northern country is, of course, seen when it is remembered how a century ago taxes for general defence were imposed in London and resisted by arms at Boston. But not only is it impossible now for Great Britain to impose any tax on the colonies, but it is also impossible for her to prevent them from taxing by customs duties her trade. Canada may impose any duties she pleases on British goods. Never before in the history of the world has a

parent state given up even the idea of a remonstrance on such a subject.

But it must be remembered that it is to the teaching of the most distinguished of all the British political economists, that Canada owes her defence of her system of imposing duties on imports for revenue, and even for the purpose of protecting and nursing her manufactures. Mill expressly declared that there were cases where such an expedient might be necessary to allow of the growth in a new country of manufactories. Whether defensible or not, by a purely philosophic argument, there is no doubt that every rising nation will naturally proceed to such imposts on goods not made at home, but which may be produced at home. A young country tries as soon as possible to be represented in all departments of national existence, and to have home-made articles in preference to those made out of the country. There is, therefore, little use in arguing the point. But one thing is arguable, and that is the contention of British economists that all that is produced under protection is produced at much heavier cost, and with a less satisfactory result. I remember Lord Kimberly declaring that Ontario now had to buy at increased price the plows she used at home, and that those made by her people were inferior to those she formerly bought at a cheaper rate from New York. But there was no doubt that a comparison of prices and a comparison of goods showed that after a very brief interval the Canadian manufacturer had turned out as good and as cheap an article as that formerly sent into the country from the States.

It was so with an article in another part of the Dominion. I do not know if the British Columbians were more fond of soap than the rest of their kinsfolk to the east or south of them. But anyway they used to buy all their soap at San Francisco. The change in the tariff cut them off from the 'Frisco soap, and the mountains, before the Canadian Pacific Railroad was made, from the soap lovers of the east. They set about to make their own soap, and very soon their soap cleansed, at the old price of the "foreign" soap, every hand in the Colony. I took special pains to verify this soap story, and it will wash! The truth is that things easily made and easily carried can be made at home in most countries as cheaply as they can be made anywhere. It is only where long transport adds to the price that the effect of protective duties is severely felt.

Now, it is quite possible that in time and for certain common purposes, Britain's colonies will ask her to reconsider her position, and to see if some articles cannot be added to a revenue list on which some small tax shall be laid. The money is wanted for common purposes, and if one section of our empire says that it is too much in love with the philosophers' stone of free trade ever to change it for the cash of mutual good, there a "question" will also arise, which will give rise to some valuable weighing of balances of advantage. I don't know whether any of the States of America will ever think it necessary not only to have their armed militia under their separate and "sovereign" control, but also to make their state frontiers the boundaries for different tariff arrangements. That is about the position of the British Empire at the present day. The sentiment for alliance is held to be so strong that it makes light of these little pecuniary matters, but they are serious if left to fructify into widely different fruits. You have the same with regard to local taxation in the States, and that local taxation maintains armed militia forces, so that you need not labor too much to see the similarity in the position of the two great English-speaking nations. But a likeness does not make the matter much better, and the United States is in advance of the British Empire in that it has common taxes for common purposes.

Now this conference at Ottawa was in some respects a remarkable development. There was something very new even in the locality where it was held. I remember my father coming back from a Cabinet council and telling us boys that the capital of the new Dominion of Canada had been fixed, and that the name of the town which was about to receive this unexpected honor was By Town or Ottawa. We tried to find the town in our maps of America, and failed to find it. The place was not considered worth notice. At the conference delegates from all Anglo-Saxondom, except the United States, came there to discuss mutual support, and how intercommunication had best be carried on by steamer and ocean telegraph lines, and, further, how best these communications could be defended, and how the funds could be raised to provide for that defence. Wide questions, indeed, opening up many subjects which, as the French say, "give to think!" There were Australians asking how they could co-operate in laying a cable that should bind together

the British-American Pacific coast with the Southern Island Continent. There were Africanders who knew that "Good Hope" rested with that "Cape" Government, which means to have domination in the future "from the Cape to Cairo." Big words, truly, but what is to prevent their realization? Already "The Cape" means a federation extending to the Zambesi, and although these States have with them the "negro question" in a more wholesome and aboriginal form than that which exists in America, the success of the Dutch race has proved that in mere power of multiplication the blacks will not have it all their own way in Southern Africa. But what were these opponents of Zulus and Kaffirs doing in the head-quarters of Legislation and Lumber Trade? They were sent by a very remarkable man, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who has lately been giving the old country politicians a "bit of his mind." Holding, as he did, he said, that the future government of this world was a question of tariff, he thought it a good opportunity to make a condition that the duties on British manufactures should not be higher than the duties at present imposed in the South African Customs Union. The best return a colony could make to the English people for their support, and help, and the protection that their navy furnished, would be to allow their manufactured goods to pass at a fair rate. Englishmen spent their whole time in Parliament on local matters, but the big question of the trade of the people they neglected. See the action of the United States, of France and of Russia, who have all been devising schemes for shutting out England by protective and prohibitive tariffs. Yet the extraordinary thing is that when the English people are offered the privilege that south of the Zambesi their goods shall be admitted forever on a fair basis, their rulers absolutely refuse it. Yet we know that the states south ot the Zambesi will join in one system and that they will grant this right forever to British goods.

And as it is with the South African plans for co-operation, so it is with others hinted at, or formulated, by other colonies. England, as yet, sticks to her shibboleth of receiving everything without placing any duty on goods unless it be on tobacco or spirits. She treats all alike. Her children over sea have no advantage over the stranger. It is for her children at home only that she thinks. She declares, indeed, that the children over sea ought to

do as she does. But at the same time she confesses that they are old enough to know their own minds, and "what is more she can't prevent them from having opinions of their own, and acting on them." They in Canada, in Australia, and in the Cape stretch hands to the old mother and cry: "Treat us as your children, and give our goods some advantage in your market, and we will fight for you." As yet England turns a deaf ear to this cry. Perhaps some day she may find that she must purchase her distant children's active support at a higher price than that she would be obliged to pay now. A higher price? How is that possible? Ask the Free Traders, with Mr. Gladstone until lately at their head as Prime Minister, and now their retired but still consulted oracle. Foreign countries, says the oracle, would at once retaliate against England were she to place any duty on their goods heavier than that placed on England's own children. The bulk of England's trade, he continues, comes from abroad. Therefore, we must run no risk of offending the foreigner. To such fears it is useless to point out that the foreigner, like the Englishman, thinks only of what is best for himself. His duties are as high and only as high as he thinks it will be profitable to himself to have them.

The only way to raise such all-round selfishness into a sense of the necessity of union is to show that persistence in extreme dogma must bring isolation in times of danger as well as in times of peace. This will gradually be brought to the front, in all probability, by united pressure on the part of some of the children of the mother of nations, who, like the old lady in the nursery tale, has so many children she don't know what to do, and as she can't "whip them all soundly and send them to bed," she will probably have to put up with some of their ideas and "behave according." This is the chief meaning of this first Imperial Parliament, or Council of Ministers, held where the Algonquin and Iroquois used to fish beside the spray shot forth by the falls of the "Chaudière." There is not much chance that the modern fishermen there assembled will hook fish too large for them to handle. The good sense which has made these young nations so successful will be answered by the moderation always inherent in the statesmen "at home," however far they may see fit to drive dogma to "please the gallery" for a time, for the "gallery" is the source from which the young nations have come, and are even now being daily reinforced in numbers, and the crowd in that gallery can understand